

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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UTW Calls General Cotton Strike

Sinclair Wins Primary

The political lineups of 1936 are entrenched in the California of 1934.

With the nomination of Upton Sinclair, erstwhile Socialist and author of the EPIC plan, as Democratic candidate against Republican reactionary Frank Merriam, the vague outlines of two new political machines may be seen. Sinclair's victory is especially significant coming only a few days after the formation of the ultra-conservative American Liberty League.

On the one side are the blind reactionaries—the Merriams, the Rosses, the Al Smiths, the Hamilton Fishes. On the other side are the "liberals," the men who stand for the "square deal," the "new deal"—the Roosevelts, the Hopkins, the Sinclairs. It is on this basis that American parliamentarianism will run for the next few years.

Sinclair won the nomination by gaining thousands of new Democratic votes—many of them from the ranks of Socialists and radicals. These people believed in his EPIC plan to "end poverty in California," and in Sinclair as the instrument of radical change. But the EPIC plan on analysis presents many old familiar features. It is, in its fundamentals, the stand of right-wing Socialism lacking only the lip service right-wing Socialism gives to the Marxian doctrine of class-struggle. EPIC has other familiar features from a much more unpleasant source however.

There is a vague reminiscence of Hitler's work camps in Sinclair's program of putting the unemployed to work on the land and in the factories so they may be removed from relief rolls and lighten the burdens on the taxpayers.

Sinclair's statements show the confusion, the misinterpretation of class forces characterizing the liberal position. After re-affirming his fundamental faith in democracy he says: "There are 1,250,000 persons in our state out of work. They cannot be permitted to starve. They are being supported by public charities, and the burden of that is driving the state to bankruptcy and the taxpayers to ruin." Further, he assures the business men that they need not worry about competition from the goods fabricated by the unemployed because these articles will not come onto the market. Of the installation of EPIC, Sinclair states: "We have made it as simple as possible, as easy to understand. We have made it so gradual so as to be painless."

SHOPMEN DEFEAT COMPANY UNIONS

Washington, D. C. The company union has been defeated in a poll conducted among the shop men in the Illinois Central Railroad.

The machinists voted for the legitimate union, 1,184 against 298; the boilermakers 337 against 84; the carmen 2,771 against 746 and the firemen and others voted 810 to 183.

All other crafts cast majorities against the company unions.

This is the position, not only of EPIC, but of the New Deal. Roosevelt can and will support Sinclair, if not openly, at least with a definitely concealed influence, because there is no conflict between EPIC and NRA. They're both letters out of the same type case.

California is a state of extremes. The contest for governor will be bitterly waged this fall with the possibilities that Sinclair will win. One clear gain will come from his victory—the freedom of Mooney and Billings. But beyond that we may expect to see Sinclair engulfed in the morass of his own contradictions just as the liberals of the New Deal have been engulfed. In turn the workers will learn that a new society cannot be achieved by methods "so gradual as to be painless"—that such changes must come, not through manipulating a Democratic political regime but through a class, set into motion to achieve power by the destruction of its enemies.

AL SCHAAAP

As we go to press, we are informed of the death of Comrade Al Schaap, formerly member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League. Comrade Schaap was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) and its organizer in Los Angeles, California.

Comrade Schaap had taken a leading role in the fight of the CPO for the reunification of the communist movement and in the struggle for a correct Leninist line.

The death of Comrade Schaap at the age of 32 is a great loss for the CPO especially at a time when its influence is beginning to penetrate large sections of the American labor movement.

We urge upon our California comrades to redouble their communist work so that movement for which we all fight may go forward.

Silk and Wool Men to Follow

Washington, D. C.

A general strike in the cotton industry has been called for Saturday 11.30 P. M. The following call was issued by Francis J. Gorman, Chairman, Special Strike Committee, United Textile Workers of America:—

"To All Locals: "Strike of all cotton textile workers will begin at 11.30 o'clock your time Saturday night. Put all previous instructions into effect. Wool, silk and rayon and synthetic yarn membership stand by for further orders. Victory thru solidarity."

This strike call comes after many days were lost in futile and servile bargaining on the part of the U. T. W. leaders, who sought by all possible means to call off the strike. Bound by a convention decision and arrogantly spurned by the Cotton Textile Institute, they were finally forced to resort to a strike of 500,000 cotton workers.

The strike call has aroused tremendous enthusiasm in the ranks of the textile workers. Also other

sections of the industry are ready and awaiting the call to walk out. In a statement from Paterson, Eli Keller, progressive leader of the silk workers, and Yanarelli of the dyers, have announced that their membership is prepared to strike and are awaiting a strike call.

A stirring call for a complete general strike has been issued by the Progressive Group of the U. T. W. In this call an appeal is also made to all trade unions to give their moral and financial assistance to the strike.

That the textile barons intend to use the most violent means of suppression became apparent when strike headquarters announced that it has learned that many mills have secured large orders of tear gas bombs, arms, and ammunition. At the same time it has become known that the Department of Justice has been asked to send agents into the strike area.

Numerous telegrams from local unions, pledging assistance to the strike have been received at strike headquarters. Among these were telegrams from the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union and from Charles S. Zimmerman, pledging moral and financial assistance from 30,000 workers in the dressmakers union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. Also William Green, President of the A. F. of L. has announced his endorsement of the strike.

Richberg Reorganizes NRA

Big Business, lustful for still greater profits, is further strengthening the deadly hold of the trade associations over the economic life of the nation, by a reorganization or a further organization of NRA. The enormous profits reaped by corporations under the NRA is spurring the organization of NRA into a more permanent form—the cartelization of industries.

A new classification of codes into twenty-two groups is to be inaugurated. A typical example of such a classification is Division No. 10 under which will come all Textile, Apparel, Leather and Fur Codes, over 100 codes in all. This vertical organization of industry is nothing but an accelerated development of giant cartels, the basis of which has long existed. The tendency toward vertical organization of industry is inherent in capitalism; the new devices of NRA will serve to automatically remove many barriers standing in the way of a hastened realization of these greater Frankenstein. With all governmental power being exerted to facilitate this process, the death knell for many small businesses already tolls.

The two great obstacles confronting Big Business are naturally enough its inevitable opponents, small business and labor.

That the coming reorganization is directed against the code "chislers" (small business) is openly acknowledged. Thus The Journal of Commerce with disarming candor declares the objective:

"The new groupings give industries better competitive positions to establish uniform la-

bor provisions. In some cases, the group might adopt the highest minimum wage and the lowest working hours provided for all their codes."

Even the pretense of "cracking down" on the big boys has now been abandoned by the New Dealers, and the little fish are to be trapped in a much finer net and their life extinguished in a fashion so efficient that Frederick Taylor, the father of Scientific Management will probably applaud from his grave.

More highly organized these associations can spell nothing for labor but more ruthless attempts to undermine and destroy unionism. The recent strike wave, San Francisco, Minneapolis, etc., has struck terror into the hearts of the Robber Barons. So the anti-labor machinery is being over-hauled; new instruments are being created; their terror is translating itself into more efficient preparations for the greater battles impending.

Under the new dispensation the restrictions and outlawing of new machinery installation shall go the way of all flesh. Industry will reach still higher productive levels.

The self-acknowledged author of Theodore Roosevelt's campaign speeches, Donald Richberg, is an old hand at the sunshine business. He wrote the rah-rah songs for the University of Chicago, became enmeshed in the net of progressivism, turned sour and pessimistic; then came Roosevelt to lift him from his mellow twilight into the bright sun of national fame, an office-boy for Wall Street's wolves.

The genesis of a liberal. . .

The report on the "progress of national recovery" is purported to be a "broad view of the accomplishments of the administration program." We learn from the rejuvenated cheer-leader that, "the average per capita weekly earnings in manufacturing" (for individual wage-earners) rose only 8.5 per cent. "Therefore, the average manufacturing worker's purchasing power remained practically unchanged; although by shortening hours he 'shared his work' with new employees, without an individual loss in 'real wages'." "Little cause for joy here. Most astounding of all, the report still dares to imply that capital and labor have both been equally blessed by the New Deal. First it is implied that the growth of labor organizations (the A. F. of L.) has been encouraged by the New Deal. This is subtly done: after telling of the growth of the trade associations under the codes "which is essential to the administration of Codes of Fair Competition", the growth of the A. F. of L. follows in the very next paragraph. This is intended to demonstrate the impartiality of the New Deal. And this after Richberg has on several occasions denounced as anti-government acts, those militant actions which strengthened the unions! But Donald is far more pleased with the growth of the company unions because they mark "an increase in the mechanisms of labor association available for the collective bargaining contemplated in the act." This will bring cheers

(Continued on Page 3)

Detroit Workers Score Green

The rank and file opposition to the strike breaking role of Green, in the San Francisco strike, is growing. Another indication of that is a resolution adopted by the Kelsey Hayes federal union of automobile workers, with a membership of 2,000, in which Green's action is scored as being in "violation of the ethics and traditions of the trade union movement." The following is the resolution in full:

WHEREAS, the A. F. of L. Unions of San Francisco, unanimously displayed a spirit of cooperation toward the longshoremen, by going out on strike in an effort to compel the reactionary Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, and its affiliated organizations to recognize the Longshoremen's Union.

WHEREAS, these 50,000 or more workers would have achieved their aim, had not William Green of the A. F. of L. denounced these efforts to achieve victory for the Longshoremen.

WHEREAS, William Green, by his acts has created dissension among all trade union members and assisted in retarding the growth of the American Labor movement, thereby giving aid and comfort to the enemies of Labor.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, at a regular meeting of Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Corporation, Local No. 18677, United Automobile of America, that we formally go on record

(Continued on Page 6)

The NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

REGISTRATION OPENS SEPT. 10

51 WEST 14th ST., N. Y. C.

'Arbeiter Kampf' to Appear

Beginning this month, the "Arbeiter Kampf," Jewish organ of our group will again resume publication. Due to financial difficulties the group was forced to suspend the publication of this important organ for several months. Arrangements are now being made to have the publication appear regularly every month.

In order to assure the regular appearance of the monthly the Jewish committee decided to have the first few issues printed in mimeographed form.

The first issue of the publication will contain a series of articles on the situation in the Jewish mass organizations and the labor movement. The purpose of the magazine is to bring our ideas and viewpoints to the Jewish speaking masses in the various organization. Our comrades, especially those connected with mass organization must mobilize to sell and distribute the magazine. The price per copy is 3 cents.

All communications for the "Arbeiter Kampf" should be addressed to Jewish Committee, CPO, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

THE CANADIAN TOILER

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Dubinsky Demands Paddock Removal

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has sent a message to President Roosevelt calling for the removal of Col. R. B. Paddock from his position as executive director of the Cotton Garment Code Authority. President Dubinsky claims Paddock is unfit to retain this post because he helped draft the statement of the manufacturers, flatly refusing to carry out Roosevelt's order for shorter hours and higher pay in the cotton garment industry.

A joint meeting of the General Executive Boards of the I.L.G.W.U. and the A.C.W. will soon be called to take up the question of a general strike.

STEEL COMPANIES SLASH WAGES

Under the guise of eliminating Saturday work the United States Steel Corporation has announced a 10% cut affecting 20,000 white collar workers.

This was immediately followed by similar announcements by Jones & McLaughlin, Republic Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube.

It is generally understood that an effort will soon be made to enforce this cut also upon the mill workers in the plants of the above corporations.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL OPENS

With the opening of the Fall Term on September 24, the New Workers School enters upon its 5th year. Indicative of its growth and development is the unprecedented number of students (over 2,500, who attended classes during the past year. That its influence has spread far and wide is evidenced by the numerous requests for syllabi of its various courses received not only from all parts of the United States and Canada, but from Porto Rico, New Zealand and Australia as well. It is interesting to note, and very significant, that the outlines most frequently requested are for the courses "A Marxian Interpretation of American History," "Fundamentals of Communism," and "Proposed Roads to Freedom" (an examination of the Anarchist, Syndicalist, Socialist and Communist movements).

Lovestone To Give New Course

To our New York friends who have gained so much from and are looking forward with so much eagerness to the resumption of the Current Events lecture series given by Jay Lovestone who, as has been so aptly put, "catches history on the wing" and in whose lectures "the methods of Marxism are brilliantly applied to illuminate history in the making," we have a very important announcement to make. By its method of work in the mass organization, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) has succeeded in arousing, among the workers, a deep interest in Communism. Since these leftward moving workers have repeatedly voiced their desire to make a thorough study of the theory and method of Marxism, the New Workers School has arranged with Jay Lovestone, one of the founders and builders of the Communist Party of America, now Secretary of the Communist Party (Opposition), to conduct a study course in the Marxist classics. This study course is to consist of 12 sessions, each session to be given over to an examination of an outstanding Marxian classic, i.e., one of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Each session will be devoted not merely to the consideration of the text and political content of the particular piece of writing, but primarily to an application of the political substance of this reading to current events, national and international. In view of the nature of this course, the class will be limited to those who have some acquaintance with Marxian theory and reading, and who are prepared to study in earnest. Unlike the Current Events lecture series, there will be no single admission to any session. Enrollment for the entire course of 12 sessions must be made in advance.

Wolfe to Teach Marxian Economics

Another course for which we have had repeated requests is "Marxian Economics," which will be given by the Director of the New Workers School, Bertram D. Wolfe, one of the few outstanding leaders in Marxian thought. Space does not permit of a detailed description of this course. This we will gladly send upon request. Nor can we devote much space to the descriptions of the other courses to be given during the Fall Term. We can only sketch some of them here.

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The Foundations of Marxism

A study of the ideological development of Marxism from its beginnings to the death of Marx will be conducted in "The Foundations of Marxism" by Will Herberg, Educational Director of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., who has made some very important original contributions to Marxist thought.

Cork On American History

We have already commented upon the significance of the course to be given by Jim Cork, "A Marxian Interpretation of American History." The remarkable frescoes painted on the walls of the New Workers School by the great revolutionary artist, Diego Rivera, as his gift to the workers of New York, serve to illustrate this course in American history.

Many Other Courses Listed

"Radical Tendencies in the Labor Movement," a course to be given by B. Herman, will examine the policies and aims of the Anarchist, Syndicalist, Socialist and Communist movements, and of the various tendencies within the Communist movement. A very important course dealing with the labor movement is "Trade Union Tactics" to be given by George F. Miles, long experienced in the problems and tasks of trade union work. This course analyzes the historic and economic background of American trade unionism and examines the causes for the recent trade union growth, the condition of the A. F. of L. of independent, and of revolutionary (TUUL) unionism, of company and of NRA unionism in the light of the present sharp struggles, etc.

"Fundamentals of Communism"

For those desiring to begin a systematic study of Communist theory and practice, we offer

classes in the most basic course, "Fundamentals of Communism," to be given by D. Benjamin and E. Dorf. This course analyzes the economic, social and political structure and functioning of the capitalist system, the contradictions within capitalism, tendencies making for a new social order, and the nature and form of socialist society. It examines the role of the workers in the socialist revolution, the necessity and function of the revolutionary party of the proletariat (Communist Party), and of mass organizations such as trade unions, fraternal and cultural organizations, etc. It takes up the problems of strategy and tactics in the class struggle, e. g., the united front, revolutionary work in trade unions and other mass organizations, alliances with non-proletarian classes, the farm question, the Negro question, etc.

Registration Opens September 15

Classes are conducted evenings from 7 to 8:30 and from 8:40 to 10:10 P. M. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. Registration begins the week of September 10. The fee for a 12 session course is \$2.50, for an 8 session course, \$2.00, unless otherwise stated. The fee for "Marxist Classics" is \$5.00, to be paid on day of registration. "Marxian Economics" is divided into two terms, so arranged as to constitute two independent courses for those who desire to take one or the other. The fee for the first 12 sessions is \$3.50, for the second term of 8 sessions, \$2.50; advance registration for the entire course is \$5.00. Special arrangements will be made for unemployed workers on any of the courses. Write for detailed descriptive catalogue to the New Workers School, 51 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

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By N. LENIN

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FIRST YOUTH CONGRESS IN REVIEW

Under the leadership of the radical youth organizations, fighting in disciplined and strategic fashion, the majority of genuine youth organizations captured the First American Youth Congress and administered a smashing blow at the attempt to convert this first Congress of America's youth into a docile receptacle of the Roosevelt plans. It was glorious, this demonstration of united effort upon the part of the radical and liberal organizations. In its efforts to expose the true character of the Roosevelt plans for youth, in its stinging rejection of the careerist Viola Ilma—so dramatically pictured as a "pipe-smoking blood" of "royal Abyssinian" vintage—and her coterie, an invaluable service was rendered to America's toiling youth.

Starvation, Ornaments, and Beauty

What the character of the Congress might have been was clearly revealed in the speeches opening the Congress. A. A. Berle, Jr., waxed pessimistic over the economic outlook and proposed this as a solution to the unemployed youth: In a certain town several unemployed youngsters secured an old forge and proceeded to make metal ornaments; they made a fairly good living. (What would happen, should several million youngsters do likewise?) This is the kind of brain rust that comes from the more "liberal" of the Brain-Trust. Dr. Nash of New York University found no difference between Russia under the Czar and under Communism; he therefore urged youth to—guess what?—stretch out their hands and grasp for beauty! Arthur Garfield Hays declared himself as being uninterested in "systems" but vitally interested in "civil liberties"! He too took a "liberal" poke at the Soviet Union by finding little difference between it and Nazi Germany! So much for the curtain raiser.

Left Opens Fire

Speeches concluded, Miss Ilma proceeded to make some announcements, but was interrupted by vigorous cries for the election of a chairman. Flustered at this "uncouth" demonstration of her "guests" she summarily declared the session adjourned. Immediately it dawned upon all that even in politics she was but a novice. The tide had turned.

At the round table session that very afternoon, four of the hand-picked chairmen were ousted by the delegates when they refused to permit democratic election of chairmen. Even Mr. Plunkert of the Transient Camps was bounced. But the real battle was staged that evening in a small room of the building, where the Executive Board was to meet. As soon as Miss Ilma stepped upon the platform the battle broke out furiously: delegates demanded that no further business could be considered until a chairman was democratically elected. Ilma turned the chair over to Prof. J. B. Nash who under a heavy barrage of piercing points of procedure and eloquent addresses for democratic procedure finally entertained nominations. Waldo McNutt of the Rocky Mountain Council of the Y.M.C.A. and Miss Ilma were nominated. Ilma and her hand-picked left to seek peace at the Brevoort Hotel, where they established a "Congress." End of first round—Red leads Black by a wide margin.

The Congress At Work

A grave error was committed on the second day when the steering committee agreed to a mediation of differences! This was particularly disgraceful on the part of the Y.C.L. which had even prior to the Congress denounced Ilma & Co. as "Fascists." Now they marched forth to "mediate their differences" with their bitterest enemies. Is this another "new line"? Communists never "mediate" their differences with the reactionaries of any color or brand! While it was correct to go to this conference called under alleged "democratic" auspices and fight to capture or smash it, had real Fascists inaugurated the venture it would not

have been the Communist strategy to do so. This error is the blackest one on the Congress record.

The Congress listened to Earl Browder, Alfred Bingham, Norman Thomas and others. Browder with all his deficiencies fairly radiated militant struggle in comparison to the pinks that preceded him.

Resolutions were adopted after a hurried and inadequate discussion on Education, War and Fascism, Youth In Industry, etc. The radical viewpoint was making heavy inroads amongst many delegates never before in the range of the radicals. The outstanding feature of the Congress was the unanimous rejection of the Roosevelt plans for youth. The resolutions failed, however, to incisively analyze these plans and methods to combat them. The resolution on War and Fascism is a disgrace. The one on Youth In Industry meanders along and misses the essence of the Roosevelt plan. A continuation committee of 15 was elected: 3 from Y.M.C.A.; 1 National Student Federation; 1 National Municipal League; 1 Young Peoples Socialist League; 1 Young Communist League; 1 League For Industrial Democracy; 1 Junior Negro Cooperative League; 1 Associated Office and Prof. Employees; 1 St. James Presbyterian Church; 1

by Saul Held

C.C.C. Boys Protective League; 1 Farmer Labor Federation; and 1 Shipping Clerks Union. A projected conference was set for the first week in January in Washington, D. C.

Y.C.L. Runs True To Form

That the Young Communist League directed the Congress and made possible this victory cannot be denied. We have nothing but admiration for their leadership in the fight against the Ilma clique. But, when the continuation committee was elected, the League succeeded in narrowing it down to fifteen so as to exclude such organizations as Spartacus Youth and C.P.O. Youth. Not much more surprising was the attitude of the Y.P.S.L., those "superior revolutionists" (in private), who made no fight for a more inclusive committee. Still battling hard for democracy, it is clear. Only Noah Walters of the Junior Negro Cooperative League, J. Carter of the Spartacus Youth Club, and our correspondent made this fight, and not merely because of the exclusion of two of the organizations represented by them, but with the wider view of still further broadening

the Congress base—attracting numerous other organizations of youth.

When Gil Green attacked J. Carter because he expressed a difference of opinion on a formulation concerning the war question, as a "splitter," only the Communist Youth Opposition demanded a retraction and apology. (Where was the Y.P.S.L.?) The Y.C.L. strategy was obvious thruout: muzzle and isolate the "Lovestonites" and "Trotskyites," while love flourished between them and the "Fascist twin" the Y.P.S.L. This hardly augurs well for the future of the unity achieved by all organizations in the fight against the common enemy—the Ilma group of "New Dealers."

What Was The Congress?

It was not a defeat of "Fascism" as the Y.C.L. proclaims, and that inevitable yes-man, the NEW MASSES, echoes. Theodore Draper in the NEW MASSES gives us this characterization of Ilma's program: "By adopting precisely those portions of the Roosevelt program which are most plainly fascist, Ilma was able to tie her kite to Roosevelt and Hitler, both at the same time!" (our emphasis) Undoubtedly bunk! (Makes the victory appear so much more impressive.) Ilma may be a potential

Fascist, but her program today is wholly that of the Roosevelt Administration, and cannot be confused with Fascism. Draper quotes a section of her book which is favorable to Hitler, but she also writes favorably of the Soviet Union! (Ilma likes strong men—Hitler, Stalin, Roosevelt—all big men she admires, so why make the gal out to be a Fascist . . .). Why did not Draper quote pages 27-28-29 of "And Now, Youth," where Ilma rejects Fascism as the road for America's youth, and declares: "youth must support Roosevelt." And the release of the Central Bureau which said, "The difference between a youth movement in America and a youth movement in Europe is precisely the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy. The Central Bureau for Young America was the first deliberate attempt at a national consolidation or lynch along strictly democratic lines." This is not a Fascist program. The Congress was composed of radical and a few liberal organizations, which while representing the best interests of America's youth, were not representative of America's toiling and student youth en masse.

What next? Can the Continuation Committee broaden itself to include any and every organization in agreement with its program? Shall the splendid beginning be dissipated in the strangling clutch of the Y.C.L.? Will the Young Peoples Socialist League fight for that kind of genuine united front which it has clamored for, and refuse to kneecap down under the Y.C.L. lash? Or is it, too, putting its own "prominence" above the interests of the toiling youth—the broadest possible united front? Will the Continuation Committee strive to broaden the Congress by urging the absorption into itself of youth representatives from every possible trade union and workers organization in the country?

A great deal depends on how these questions are answered. And to the Y.C.L. our message is: "We accept Browder's declaration that the Communist Party has always and is today willing to form a united front with every labor organization in America and ask you in the interests of America's toiling youth, to make good this declaration in practice or acknowledge your deceit to the entire American labor movement!"

RICHBURG AND NRA

(Continued from Page 1)

from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. But Donald's desire (read, Big Business) has been, and is, to make these "mechanisms" the sole instruments for "collective bargaining."

Only when the accounting of corporation profits is reached does Richberg wax ecstatic. "See," he tells his masters, "how the profit curve has soared under the Blue Eagle." There is no suppressing his jubilation in those two paragraphs. The rest is a dull recital of New Deal agencies and appropriations made to each.

Whatever gains labor has made in the past period has been solely thru those unions which fought and tore concessions from the employers. These struggles were successful precisely to the degree that they were strong enough, not only to fight the employers, but also the Regional Labor Boards and the other agencies for the enfeebling and destruction of labor.

Why The Codes Were Born

"Commerce And Finance" informed the world on August 8th that, "It was predicted when the NRA was formed that the establishment of maximum working hours and minimum wage rates would tend eventually to make minimum rates the maximum. Economics Statistics, Inc., now states that this is taking place in many industries." A rather belated but unfinished tale—in many industries the "maximum" has become anywhere below the minimum.

The Economic Trend

by Economist

Business Blues Become Black

Business is definitely in the doldrums. After the very low level reached in December, 1933, the business index registered monthly increases up to June which almost regained the entire loss. At present, the Annualist reports that the index for July (72.4 as against 77.0 for June) reached its lowest level since Dec. 1933. This estimate is reaffirmed by "The Commercial and Financial Chronicle" of Aug. 18, 1934, drawing upon a report of Col. L. P. Ayres, vice-president of the Cleveland Trust: "The third quarter of the year has definitely become a period of general recession. . . . The volume of industrial output has fallen by distinctly more than the normal seasonal percentage. Unemployment is growing, and the burdens of public relief payments is increasing in ever greater degree. . . . Building construction, except for public projects, is at a low level."

Status Of Six

Vital Industries

Analyzing what he terms the six essential points of recovery, Ayres discovers that, except for the Auto industry which "is doing well," in building the "volume is low and its gains of last autumn and of last month are mostly due to the expenditure of public funds. Private building remains quiescent." In Steel production there were good returns "but in July it lost most of its gains of the past year and no prompt recovery seems in prospect." The Textile industry was "prosperous" last year, but this year "promises to be poor. In July volume fell sharply." (The Textiles are very important in our economic scheme. Among the sixteen sections into which the Census divides manufactures, this industry leads in employing more workers, pays more wages and produces greater values of output.) This industry, which has been singled out as an example of the "Daniel come to judgement" for the workers, under the code, is in reality nothing of the kind the Business Week of August 4, 1934 reveals:

Earnings	Payrolls
1930 —64	81
1931 —70	71
1932 —124	51
1933 +156	58

With 1929 equaling 100

Note the tremendous increase in the companies earnings as compared to the relatively minute wage increase. The disproportion becomes still more acute if one takes into account the terrific speed-up which has increased labor's productivity much beyond the small pay increase. We find, further in the Ayres analysis that, "the volume or rail-road freight has not been making satisfactory progress. It is currently smaller than it was a year ago." And the last point, "exports made a fair recovery last year but have remained almost unchanged this year."

Down, Down The Toboggan

In relation to the economic crisis and particularly its present stage, Ayres makes the following devastating indictment: "At the present time both the durable goods and consumer goods are at levels below normal about equal to those they reached at the extreme lows of the severe depression of 1921." Let the playboy economists of the boom period reconcile their elimination of the business cycles and their permanent stabilization with these facts.

Drouth Strikes

Workers Too

The catastrophic nature of the drouth has tended to add to the already mounting cost of living that the New Deal has so effectively forced upon the masses. Consumers Guide has already pointed out that in the two weeks from July 3 to 17 the average for 42 foods reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics was "the highest point food prices have reached during the past 30 months," and at the same time "the farmer is getting only a little over one-third of the consumer's dollar. From 1924 to 1929 he got almost one-half . . ." Latest reports reveal a 15% increase in food prices caused directly by the drouth and the resulting scarcity. And it is definitely asserted that as usual the profits are going to the "big" middlemen and speculators.

R. R. Workers Hard

Hit By Crisis

A very interesting example of

the dialectics of capitalist class society is seen in the present situation of the railroad-bus industrial relationships. In the RAILWAY AGE (Aug. 1934), a leading article launches an attack on the economic conditions of the bus drivers who are receiving an average of \$30 a week and working 51.1 hours a week. These conditions as contrasted with those of locomotive engineers who earn \$80 per week and work 37 hours a week are indeed deplorable. RAILWAY AGE then agrees that such conditions are deplorable—but only because it enables the bus owners the competitive trade advantage of lower costs resulting in price-cutting which the railroads cannot meet. Far from being interested in maintaining adequate living standards are these robber barons, for while they may shed a crocodile tear for the bus drivers, the general conditions for railway workers are also of the darker hue. Press release of the Children's Bureau reports "the result of a joint study by 18 of the standard railway unions" and several federal bureaus, investigating 1000 families of railway men in various sections of the industry and in various localities. Results:

"Two-thirds of the men had suffered reductions in income of at least 20% and one-half of them had suffered reductions of at least 30% between July 1929 and April 1933. . . . For the year 1932 two-thirds had received less than \$1,500, three-eighths less than \$1,000, and one-tenth less than \$500. . . . Even when outside sources of income were added, such as outside work by the chief breadwinner or members of his family, about 60% failed to reach \$1,500. . . . The men attempted to meet the emergency by economies which resulted in a drastic lowering of their whole standard of living as is shown in the record of educational opportunities abandoned, health needs neglected, the crowding of families into inferior accommodations, use of shabby clothing and elimination of even the simplest and least expensive forms of recreation and social life."

Thus, while the various sections of the owning class fight for the spoils, the working class remains exploited in all cases.

Portrait of America

By Diego Rivera
Text by Bert Wolfe

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Estimating the U. T. W. Convention

Progressives Show Great Strength

by A Delegate

The Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, held August 13-18, 1934, in town hall, New York, was of outstanding significance, not only for the textile workers, but for the entire labor movement, the effective agent put up by the progressives for a militant policy and for a general strike of a million textile workers, and their condemnation of the reactionary policies pursued by the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, was an inspiration to all progressive forces in the labor movement, even though they failed to oust the McMahon leadership at this Convention. McMahon's victory, however, was a Pyrrhic one. No machine can survive such victories very long. The seemingly impregnable leadership, with all its resources and multiplicity of organizers was tottering, through the Convention, on the verge of complete rout by the opposition until the very last moment when Rieve the candidate for President against McMahon, capitulated. The Convention has presented the leadership with tasks which they cannot and will not fulfill. The result can only be the further and more conscious development of the progressive and opposition forces in the United Textile Workers.

Largest Convention

The Convention reflected the huge influx of 230,000 textile workers into the Union during the last year and a half. A total of 400 delegates was present, includ-

ing a large group from the newly organized South. The absence of Negro delegates, however, was a distinct shortcoming of the Convention for which the entire reactionary bureaucracy must be held to blame. The number of locals represented had increased five fold since the last Convention.

A new spirit was immediately discernible. The contrast with the previous Conventions of the United Textile Workers, when 75 to 100 elderly delegates, most of them from "down East," and many of them paid organizers, would go thru the unpleasant but constitutionally necessary Convention routine, was extremely marked. Here, there was an air of hope and expectancy—a change in the Administration was imminent! Here, there was felt a determination to struggle—the delegates had come committed by the membership to a general strike. Here, the cut and dried endorsement of policy had given way to a struggle for new policies at every point in the Convention. It is no wonder, therefore, that the "old timers" speak with utter amazement of the remarkable change and progress manifested at the 1934 Convention.

The Contending Forces

There were three major forces in the Convention: 1. The Revolutionary, "no strike" McMahon administration, supported by the official family of approximately 100

organizers, by the craft locals, by part of the Southern delegates and certain other new forces whose only contacts in the Union have been with the present leadership; 2. The Opposition led by Emil Rieve, President of the Federation of Hosiery Workers, a Socialist, less reactionary than the union leadership in some respects, critical (in private) of the McMahon machine for its ruinous disruption of strikes and its utter incompetence, demanding a "new deal" and change of leadership in the Union. This Opposition represented a majority of the Convention in its first stage. Having no crystallized organization or program, it rallied all elements opposed to the McMahon administration, including even certain reactionaries with whom Rieve was only too glad to make deals. Its strongest base was among the Hosiery Workers, with a delegation of over 60, the Dyers, the Silk Workers, the Rayon Workers, the Upholstery Weavers, and part of the Cotton delegation from both North and South; 3. The Progressive elements, relatively few in number in the beginning, fighting in contradistinction to Rieve, for a genuine Progressive program, rejecting any compromise with Rieve on principles and any "deals" with the administration,

was ready to work with Rieve for any one common objective—organization, to oust the old reactionary leadership and lay the basis for a new and more progressive course in the future. By their unwavering, principled, courageous fight from the beginning to the end of the Convention, the Progressives grew in strength continuously, and became the leaders of the majority of the delegates in the Opposition bloc after the capitulation of Rieve. The Rieve forces of the right and those demoralized by the capitulation went over to the Administration. The more progressive sections of the Rieve forces went to the Progressives, a development that normally would take years was compressed within a few days.

Another C.P. Fiasco

A fourth tendency was also present, although not a contending force. The three delegates sympathetic to the U.U.L. industrial unions and expressing the standpoint of the official Communist Party presented a deplorable spectacle. Their major contribution was a resolution of greetings to the knitgoods strikers of New York in which the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union was endorsed. The resolution was carried, with all references to the N.T.W.I.U. stricken out. Not a single one of the delegates of the Official C.P. line got up to defend their resolution. Secondly, one other resolution presented by them was rejected without any struggle. When debated for not putting up any fight for their own position or on any progressive measures, whatsoever, the answer was, "We couldn't get the floor." The temper of the Convention was such, however, that there was no difficulty in getting the floor on most occasions, if one wanted to. Especially was this so in the case of the mover of a resolution. When Rubenstein, for example, appealed from the decision of McMahon in not granting him the floor after discussion on a certain question had been closed, it was only by a narrow margin that McMahon was sustained. But there was one occasion on which the militant supporters of the T.U.U.L. unions could get the floor without asking the permission of McMahon, that is, on the occasion of the vote against McMahon as President of the U.T.W. But these delegates failed to get up to vote against McMahon! The capitulation of Rieve was matched on a petty scale by the action of the ultra-left. They gained no supporters, but gained the overwhelming contempt of all workers.

Progressive Initiative

A marked feature was the consistent offensive carried on by the Progressives. It was they who raised issue after issue: General strike in the entire industry for a 30-hour week, increased pay and reduction in machine load, reorganization of the union on industrial lines with the establishment of federations, enlarging of the Executive Council, criticism of the NRA, attack on the anti-strike policy of the union leadership, and the attack on Bill Green for his action on the San Francisco General Strike.

McMahon's Report

The McMahon bureaucracy was in full retreat at the beginning of the Convention. From the outset it felt itself in an extremely precarious position. The report of President

dependence of the trade unions. 3. Police terror against the strikers.

4. Compulsory arbitration. This is "Nordic Socialism".

The reformist traditions are firmly rooted in the Danish working class, and the policy of the government has not yet weakened the basis of the Social Democracy among the working class.

McMahon was received with an icy silence showing the widespread hostility to the ruling machine. The delegation was willing to give an ovation to the president of every union but their own! McMahon's report only accentuated this antagonism. In it McMahon claimed that the NRA, which had given the textile workers miserable wages of \$12 a week and then cut an even that by 25 per cent "was intended to be a real protector of the workers against." He blustered against the organization of federations, warning that they "will lead to destruction and chaos." He gloated over the huge success of the U.T.W. in suppressing strikes. "Many serious, industrial flare-ups have been avoided, because of the coordinated effort among officers of local unions and representatives of this International." And to cap the climax, McMahon proposed to reward the International officials for their great services by exacting an increase of 10c per month in per capita under the guise of creating a "strike fund."

Rieve's Role

The role of Rieve was that of a good fighter—but not against McMahon! From the very beginning Rieve opened fire against the Progressives on the question of instructing the delegation to the A. F. of L. Convention to fight for industrial unionism. He attacked delegate Herman's position on the question, and pooh-poohed the idea that the discussion was necessary at all in the U.T.W., which is for industrial unionism. It is in such manner that this trade union leader handled a major problem before the labor movement of this country. Eli Keller of Paterson answered Rieve and showed that in the U.T.W. where "industrial unionism is a settled question" craft locals have received charters recently and are still being organized. The resolution for industrial unionism was carried overwhelmingly, only a half dozen craft unionists led by Batty, of New Bedford, voting against.

The NRA Discussion

A sharp discussion occurred on Herman's resolution with its trenchant criticism of the NRA as an agency of the big employers, demanding the withdrawal of union representatives from the Code Authorities and demanding that the unions rely on militant strike action instead of arbitration by NRA and so-called "impartial" Boards. Here again Rieve was the leading defender of the conservative position. In his anxiety to differentiate himself from the Progressives, he went to the crassest extreme of NRA worship. "The NRA," he said, "has given us new life, new courage, new hope." Those who advocated the Labor Party this morning are those who now tell us to keep away from Government agencies, (which goes to show how little is understood concerning the Labor Party, whose purpose is political action of the workers organizations, independently of the employers and the parties of Wall Street). "If the hosiery workers have gained substantial improvements in their conditions, it is due to the fact that we have two union representatives in the Hosiery Code Authority. What we want is not the withdrawal of our representatives, but equal representation with the employers on the various Code Authorities." Herman of New York showed how independent union action and hard-fought strikes in the hosiery industry had been the cause of the advances made by the hosiery workers, not the placement of two representatives on the Code Authority. Rubenstein, of the Dyers, pointed out how reliance on the War Labor Board in 1918 had had a similar detrimental effect on the trade union movement as the present reliance of the trade union leaders on the NRA. Unfortunately, the argument for equal representation still bears great weight among trade unionists, even in the C.P. dual Red Unions, who fail to see

Discovering a Socialist Heaven

by H. Boserup

After the disgraceful defeat of the German and Austrian Social Democracy, the Second International turned to the Scandinavian countries and discovered that here Socialism, which had failed everywhere else, was being realized—gradually and peacefully. The Danish and Swedish Social Democracy is the pride of the Second International and its policy. "Nordic Socialism" is used as a proof of the correctness of the policy of the Second International despite all its defeats. Let us see, however, what Danish Social Democracy really means.

Social Democracy in Denmark is by far the largest party, for the past five years it constitutes the government in alliance with a small bourgeois-radical party. The Danish working class is one of the best organized in the world. Every worker is organized into unified trade unions of which by far the greatest proportion is in a central organization under exclusive Social-Democratic leadership. While the C.P. has only a few thousand members the Social Democracy has nearly 200,000 members out of a population of 3½ million. In the elections the Social Democracy gets 42 per cent of the vote. In Copenhagen, the only metropolis in the country, it gets two-thirds of the vote, but what the Social Democracy has accomplished for the working class stands in sharp contrast to its organizational strength.

The Social-Democratic coalition government has a majority only in the second chamber, and can not therefore pass a single law without the consent of at least one of the reactionary parties who are in control of the first chamber.

It is clear from this alone that not the slightest improvement can be gained for the working class through purely parliamentary means without at the same time granting concessions to the bourgeois parties. The Social Democracy, however, is a determined opponent of all other weapons except parliamentary negotiations "on the basis of the law and constitution." For every penny of State relief to the unemployed the bourgeoisie and particularly the big farmers have been generously repaid. This policy is carried thru by means of "emergency decrees"

whereby the most necessary relief is given on the condition that big farmers and estate owners are compensated by increased prices of agricultural products, direct subsidies, further devaluation of the crown, etc.

The appropriations for the State Unemployment Relief are covered not through taxes on property owners, but through indirect taxes on the most necessary food materials so that in reality the employed workers pay for the relief. In recent years the Social Democracy has placed a tariff on the following goods among others: bread, flour, butter, margarine, coffee, coffee substitutes, sugar, meat, fruit, beer, and cigarettes, but that is not all.

The bourgeoisie does not hand over the reins of government to the working class without compensation. It expects from the working class party that it maintain "law and order." The Danish Social Democracy, as subsequent examples will show, has used every available means in order to restrain the working class from independent extra-parliamentary action.

When the central organization of the employers in the spring of 1933 demanded a general wage reduction of 20 per cent and threatened a general lockout, the Social Democracy, with the consent of the Peasants' Party, passed a law against all lockouts and strikes for a year. The farmers party secured certain privileges, among others higher rates of exchange. Through this miserable compromise the Social Democracy itself took the first step towards the outlawing of strikes as a weapon of the working class. The bourgeoisie will know how to use this precedent.

In the autumn of 1933 the Social Democracy passed a new law which, through a number of juridical maneuvers makes it well-nigh impossible for the workers to reject the proposal of the State Labor Arbitrator regulating wages and working conditions, even if a very great majority of the workers vote against this proposal. This law is a great step towards the complete subordination of the trade union to the capitalist state apparatus.

The seamen in Denmark are among the lowest paid workers, excepting the agricultural workers, and have, through the 50% devaluation of the crown, received a steep indirect wages reduction, since they spend the greater part of their wages in foreign ports. In the spring of 1934 the seamen and firemen (the national organization of the firemen is under communist leadership) demanded wage increases and other improvements and decided by a great majority to strike for these demands. The Social Democratic Government pointing to the above mentioned law, declared the strike to be illegal. The Social-Democratic organizations refused any aid, and the strike-breakers were protected by the state police. A perfectly peaceful demonstration in sympathy with the striking seamen was dispersed by the police by order of the Government. The strike was defeated because of the lack of solidarity from other sections of the working class, particularly the long shoremen, most of whom became victims of the demagogic position of Social Democracy.

According to them the time was not suitable for wage struggles, but that all forces of the working-class must be rallied in order to maintain the Government.

The butchers struck at the same time as the seamen. Bacon is the main export commodity of Denmark. The workers, therefore, were in an extraordinarily favorable strategic position. What did the Social Democracy do? Since there was no possibility to declare this strike illegal they had to find a new way out in order to save the distressed industries of Denmark. The Social Democracy hurriedly passed a law, which said that this conflict was to be solved by a compulsory arbitration board. Premier Stauning frankly motivated this action by saying that the strike would threaten "the peaceful development of society." The "interest of the entire population" he said, "stands above the interest of an accidental group", (i.e., the butchers).

In the last year and a half Social Democracy has used the following means in order to check the workers in their struggle:

1. General prohibitions of strikes for a year.
2. Laws which limit the in-

A Few Pages from Comintern History

Some Important Questions Answered

by Will Herberg

The letter of Sidney Wallace of Philadelphia raises some questions which are surely not new but are nevertheless just as significant today as they ever were. For the revolutionary movement in the United States no practical problem is anywhere near as important as the problem of what attitude to take to the trade union movement and what tactics to employ within it. The questions of Comrade Wallace focus direct attention upon the fundamental clash of viewpoint on trade union tactics between the official Communist Party and the Communist Opposition, and enable us to judge how wide indeed are the deviations of the former from the traditional line of Leninist tactics.

1. Were the so-called Red unions or the R.I.L.U. formed during Lenin's time? The R.I.L.U. was formed towards the middle of 1920, obviously during Lenin's lifetime. But the R.I.L.U., as originally formed, did not set up as a revolutionary dual union center on a world scale, which it is today. It started out as an international center for existing unions and union federation which had adopted revolutionary programs. It firmly opposed and categorically repudiated any attempt to split unions, to stimulate secessions, to encourage withdrawals, or in any other way build up dual unions. It is well known that, at the very first gathering of the R.I.L.U., the question of dual unionism came up in acute form because of the sectarian attitude of certain anarcho-syndicalists. The attitude of the R.I.L.U. was unequivocal from the very start, as can be seen from the following paragraph from Losovsky's report on the organization conference of the R.I.L.U.:

"The question was: Should the old unions be split or captured? To leave unions and to set up small independent unions is an evidence of weakness; it is a policy of despair and, furthermore, shows a lack of confidence in the working class. Our motto is: Not the destruction but the winning of the trade unions."

It is clear that the original program of the R.I.L.U. was quite in harmony with the viewpoint of Lenin as expressed in his pamphlet on "Leftism" but was altogether opposed to the present tactical course of the Communist International and the R.I.L.U.

But from the very beginning there were dual unionist possibilities in the R.I.L.U. which, in time, became so pronounced that, by 1924 there was already serious talk in leading Communist circles about dissolving it. Indeed, this was the dominant view for some time, and had the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions shown the slightest willingness to go even part of the way in this direction, the R.I.L.U. would now be a thing of the past. Meanwhile, however, ultra-leftist tendencies began to grow more pronounced in C.I. circles and it did not take very long before the R.I.L.U. was completely transformed into the very engine of dual unionism it is today.

2. Do Lenin's arguments against dual unionism, as contained in his pamphlet on "Leftism," apply only to the period in which the pamph-

let was written (1919-1920)?

This is a totally fantastic contention. In the first place, if it is maintained that Lenin's pamphlet was written in a period when the servative unions and is valid only for such a period, then it should be noted that we are now passing thru precisely such a period again (at least in the United States), so that the arguments against dual unionism should be all the more striking. But this is altogether beside the whole point. Lenin repeatedly emphasizes that his trade union tactics and his opposition to dual unionism are the result of the experiences of the Russian and European Labor movements over several decades of development under all sorts of economic and political conditions. The most superficial reading of the pamphlet, the Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism, will show one how worthless the Stalinist argument is.

3. Was it the purpose of the so-called Red unions to organize the unorganized? The answer is there on the face of it. Where were the dual unions formed in this country? In the needle, textile and mining industries — where they were organized not out of previously unorganized workers but out of split-off sections of the A. F. of L. unions. In 1925 and 1926, the Communist Party really did make a serious and successful attempt to organize the unorganized textile workers in Passaic. But did it organize them into a Red dual union. Just the opposite; it carried on a long and hard fight to secure the affiliation of the Passaic union to the United Textile Workers, to the A. F. of L. The trade union policy of the Communist Party must certainly be in a fine fix if it has to depend for support upon such obvious distortions of notorious facts!

4. Did Lenin tell the comrades to form Red unions? Only unscrupulous demagogues would venture to assert this. On December 15, 1921, the Communist International issued theses on the "united front of labor," carefully approved if not written by Lenin. What do these theses say about the situation in the French trade union movement?

"The revolutionary part of the French trade unionists is quite right in fighting against the splitting of the trade unions. The policy of the reformists and the centrists is now threatening the unity of the trade union movement. The slogan of unity is the best way of upsetting these plans for a split."

Does this look as if Lenin urged the splitting of the unions and the formation of Red dual unions?

Just a few months before, in July 1921, at the organizing conference of the R.I.L.U. a resolution was adopted, a resolution sanctioned of course by Lenin, which is even clearer:

"In France the revolutionary minority of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) took the correct stand in condemning the Council of the Rhone unions for leaving the Confederation. The winning of the unions in France is proceeding rapidly and there is no ground for forming separate organizations."

But the split in the C.G.T. did take place in spite of the bitter resistance of the French revolutionary unionists. What was then the attitude of Lenin and the Comintern? To undo the mischief of the split as soon as possible, to reunite the reformist C.G.T. and the revolutionary C.G.T.U.I. At the revolutionary Congress of the Communist Fifth Congress of the Communist International (1925) it was declared:

"This (the fight for unity and against dual unionism) does not only apply to countries where the overwhelming majority of revolutionary workers belong to reformist trade unions but also to countries with parallel reformist and revolutionary

trade union centers (France, Czechoslovakia) . . . In that case the task of reestablishing unity devolves mainly on expelled trade unionists and parallel organizations."

5. Were the Red unions formed because large numbers of radical workers were expelled from the unions for their militancy? It is indeed that true in some cases Red unions were formed of groups of workers who had been expelled from conservative unions for their militancy. This was true in the needle trades. It was not true in the mining and textile fields. But even where expulsions did take place, was it the business of the communists to use the occasion for forming dual unions? The traditional policy of the Communist International is just the opposite—not to welcome expulsions but to fight against it, to strive unceasingly for reinstatement! At the very first congress of the R.I.L.U. (July 1921) it was declared:

"Meeting half way the slogan 'Leave the Unions!', the trade union bureaucracy began to expel the leading elements of the revolutionary trade unionists. This strengthened the pessimistic mood as well as the slogan of 'Leave the Unions!' But it would be a grave error on the

part of the supporters of the R.I.L.U. if, by falling victim to provocation, they were to abandon the trade union movement and confine themselves in tiny revolutionary unions."

"The workers expelled from the unions should not be dispersed. They must remain organized on the same plane as they were before the expulsion, always as a definite, legal part of the union which had expelled them."

Again and again was this sentiment repeated and emphasized by responsible bodies of the Communist International. It is all summed up in Lenin's famous maxim: "If you are thrown out of the door, come in thru the window!" And if the window is locked behind you, jimmy it open! The main thing is to stay in the mass unions—to get back into them at all costs!

6. Did Foster come out against dual unionism? Of course, it is well known that Foster fought valiantly against dual unionism as represented by the IWW and by the Communist movement in this country. It was in this period that Foster rendered his greatest services to the labor and Communist movements. The first signs of sharp change in trade union tactics on the part of the Communist International occurred at the famous ninth plenary session of the ex-

ecutive of the C.I., in February 1923. A month or so later took place the fourth congress of the R.I.L.U. where Losowsky launched the dual unionist line fairly openly. Especially did Losowsky, as head of the R.I.L.U., attack, most viciously and unscrupulously, the American Communist Party for "dancing quadrilles around the A. F. of L.", that is for insisting on remaining inside the A. F. of L. at all costs. In May 1923 there took place a plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPUSA, the trade union course came up for some sharp discussion, in the form of a report of the fourth congress of the R.I.L.U. At this plenum Lovestone, as general secretary of the Communist Party, strongly resisted the attempts of Losowsky to revise Leninist trade union tactics. And vigorously supporting Lovestone against Losowsky was William Z. Foster! Losowsky's chief defender at this plenum, the chief defender of dual unionism was—James P. Cannon, now titular head of the American Trotsky group.

But in the months that followed, factional considerations and the pressure of the Communist International leadership, caused Foster to cave in, swallow his principles, deny his past and become the chief loud speaker for the new course. Since then Foster has carefully hewed to the line of dual unionism. What his personal feelings may be, it is impossible to say. His actions count.

The Chicago Bakers' Strike

by Henry Oppen

One more series of errors can be "credited" to the Communist Party in the case of the Chicago bakers. The strike of the Livingstone (Continental) bakers and the Nafziger (Schultz) bakers is complicated in detail, but the outstanding features of the strike are plain and easily explained.

The Communist Party leadership, which came into power in the local in January of this year, had full control and in many cases resorted to dictatorial powers. It had the support of the conservatives and liberals as well as its own party members. The conservatives and liberals gave their support and went along, because they wanted to see the bakers' union grow and regain the power lost in 1921. So they unreluctantly bowed to the leadership of the C.P. officials.

A city-wide campaign was made with great success and the Schultz and Livingston bakeries were organized almost to a man. About 400 people went on strike. They were, with few exceptions, between the ages of 16 and 28. 98% of them had never been in any economic organization in their lives and knew little or nothing of organized activity.

The Communist Party officialdom of the local placed these people out on the street with very little preparation on their part. There were not even enough picket signs on hand when the strike was called. No preparations were made for funds to keep up the strike and, worst of all, the strikers were given no educational training as to how to conduct the strike. The strike was called and the strikers were left to the mercy of the bosses, police, thugs and racketeers as far as the officials of the local were concerned. Had it not been for the fact that sincere members of the local, not of the C.P., gave up opportunities to take jobs in small bakeries, went hungry and without sleep, were constantly on the picket line with the strikers, encouraging them, telling them how to fight, and how to conduct themselves, the strike would have been lost the first week.

While the fight was going on, the officials were making long-winded speeches of what they were going to do to the bosses. They made long-winded speeches condemning the bakery wagon drivers'

union and the Chicago Federation of Labor and giving the strikers the opinion that these organizations were worse than no good; were a detriment to the strikers' cause. While we of the Communist Party (Opposition) believe that these organizations are in need of criticism, the fact remains that the C.P. officials of the bakers' local, while they bitterly condemned these people, they at the same time, ran to them for support. These destructive tactics have ruined the small amount of harmonious relations existing between the bakers and the drivers. It did worse than that. It broke the morale of the strikers by playing up the lack of support of the drivers, which the organization knew it would not get, before the strike was called. It also put an end to the usual routine support given by the drivers, such support as moral persuasion, sitting in conferences, and laying down rules before the bosses informing them that they would not in any way let their drivers use salesmanship for the sale of the scab bakery products. They also would not let the company use any unfair methods or practices in dealing with the strikers and they would fight in the courts for the bakers, if any court case should come up. Moreover, if the company should apply for an injunction, they would immediately go on strike. None of these forms of support, which had been shown in the past, were present in this strike, because of the attitude of the bakers' union officials toward the drivers' officials and toward the membership of the drivers' union.

The leadership cast its lot with a rank conservative, Dr. Springer, who broadcasted at that time over WCFL, and who has since been kicked off the station by the Chicago Federation of Labor for his racketeering policies. He broadcasted nightly and gave a little information about the strike. Among other things, he used to talk about such things as mother-in-laws, children, bankers, newspapers, and also praised the police department and the American Legion, for which the bakers paid him to keep him broadcasting. Whenever one of the strikers got into jail through the brutal treatment of strike-

the police force, the bakers' union would call on the "Doctor" to get him out. Then, in the evening broadcast, Dr. Springer would praise the police department for giving him such splendid co-operation in letting out the strikers. In this way the strikers were always an object of prey for the police, for, would they not be flattered over the radio by the "Doctor!" For the marvelous support the shystr doctor gave the local, he was made an honorary member and official of the bakers' union by the officialdom of the local. This was done so that he might sit in conference with the employers and do the bakers' union additional harm.

Among many other blunders, too numerous to mention in this article, made by the officials was the scheme of enlisting the Progressive Grocers' Association, which had double-crossed the bakers' union numerous times before. The officials, like a bunch of saps, fell for their line when it was quite obvious they wanted an increase on the price of bread sold by the chain stores. For the P.G.A.'s benefit, the officials called out the bakers of Kroger-Consumers, which is a chain store bakery. As usual, when the P.G.A. received its increase in the price of bread, it sold the strikers out and sent letters to each grocer telling them the strike was over and the strikers went back to work.

After eight weeks, the strikers began losing confidence in the leadership of the local and began to return to work. The local leadership called in the general organizer, Zanport, so that they might save their own necks and be able to put the blame for the loss of the strike on some one else. The organizer was called in by the local officials and instructed to make any kind of settlement possible. A settlement was made whereby the strikers received their jobs back without discrimination and an agreement was drawn up governing certain working conditions. The right of the local union to represent the strikers was also granted, but no closed shop contract was signed.

After the strike had been misled from the beginning, no one could be blamed for such a compromising settlement but the ones who had conducted and planned the whole strike.

that this proposal really increases the illusions in NRA Code Authorities as protectors of the workers, and helps foster the capital-labor partnership dream of the labor bureaucrats. The result was a victory for the combined Riese-McMahon forces. It is interesting to note, however, that most of the criticism of the NRA was retained in the resolution presented by Herman, with the reference to withdrawal from the Code Authorities being altered.

This is the first of two articles on the U.T.W. convention. In the next issue A Delegate takes up the resolutions adopted, the election and the balance sheet to be drawn for the progressive forces in the union.

Unraveling the Line

by A. M.

The overflow crowd that came to hear Jack Stachel review Lenin's "Left Wing Communism" on August 17 was not in tribute to Comrade Stachel's oratorical abilities. It was a group of intelligent but confused party members, adherents of opposition groups and Socialists who wanted to know what this "new line" in the trade union work of the Communist Party is.

After four hours of Stachelian rhetoric they left, certainly no more intelligent and a great, great deal more confused.

Stachel Discusses Exceptionalism

Stachel opened his review with what purported to be the Leninist statement on the international lessons to be drawn from the Bolshevik revolution, with what was, in reality, a vicious attack on the line of the CPO, on the doctrine of so-called "exceptionalism." In the gospel according to Stachel the "Lovestonite renegades" have debased and vulgarized Lenin by pointing out as an international difference, setting American capitalism apart from the capitalism in other countries, its greater resistant powers. This is all wrong, says Comrade Stachel, blissfully ignoring the fact that after five years of depression, after five years of the "third period" American capitalism is still fat of paunch, still dripping at the jaws as it seeks new exploitation.

Who does recognize the true international differences? The official Communist Party and only the official Communist Party is Stachel's answer. And what differences do they recognize? Here is the list. First, the fact that America is a polyglot nation made up of many racial elements. Second, the great American revolutionary tradition. And third, the crowning difference, the existence of large numbers of Negroes in America for whom the party has raised the "exceptionalist" slogan of "self-determination for the Black Belt."

All of this, of course, was merely frosting for Comrade Stachel's cake. Having annihilated the CPO beyond the shadow of a squeak he went on to give the "authoritative," the only genuine, the party interpretation of Leninism.

Lenin's "Left Wing Communism" is a clear and unmistakable indictment of the whole course of dualism, of union-splitting, of sectarianism, of isolation. Even so experienced a twister as Comrade Stachel could not twist Lenin into anything else. So he did not try. Instead Jack Stachel, secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, quoted Lenin's polemic against sectarianism and said that this was and always had been the basis of the Party line.

What Is The T.U.U.L.?

While the audience was swallowing this, Stachel proceeded to elaborate. "True," he said, "from time to time there have been slight distortions in the line of the party. But we are flexible as befits a revolutionary Communist Party. But we did not hesitate to change our tactics—for example, we have liquidated the National Miners Union into the United Mine Workers."

You had about as much choice as a plate of ice cream on a July day, Comrade Stachel. To be eaten up or to melt to nothing; that was the "choice" before the NMU.

As Stachel spoke, the Trade Union Unity League took on a more and more shadowy form until it too had practically melted away before the eyes of the audience—an audience many of whose members had fought and suffered through a mistaken loyalty to the TUUL. Forgetting the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern and of every ECCI Plenum since and of every convention and plenum of the CPUSA, Stachel painted the TUUL as a sort of faint historical accident, purely temporary in character.

The TUUL had been formed, he said (speaking in the muted voice one uses in talking of the recent dead), to organize the unorganized

and to provide a union base for the great numbers of Communists who had been expelled from the A. F. of L. "We did not," he added, "organize new unions on principle." But now that many of the unorganized are rolling into the A. F. of L., Comrade Stachel continued, we must intensify our opposition work there—although, he it remembered, this opposition work was never for a moment abandoned.

Stachel said a great deal more, all of which must be omitted here, first, because of lack of space and the necessity of some analysis, secondly, because each new point he covered only added to the appalling confusion of previous points.

There is, however, significance in what was unsaid and, indeed, in the fact that this particular speech should ever have been made at all. There is significance in the fact that the long suppressed pamphlet "Left Wing Communism" should have been published by the CP even though it was done to hurriedly anticipate the edition announced by the CPO for publication on September 15. And there is even greater significance in the attitude implied but not expressed in the pages of the "Daily Worker."

A Burlesque History Of The T.U.U.L.

We may disregard Stachel's burlesque history of the TUUL. Anyone who has read party history, who has followed the theses of the Comintern knows that the formation of independent red trade unions, the supplanting and destruction of the old reformist trade unions was not only a major tactical question but was practically the major tactical question, involving closely as it did the general united front attitude and the labor party problem. Look at a "Daily Worker" of a year ago—any issue. On the front page you will find glowing accounts of from three to a dozen dubious strikes led by the Communist Party and the TUUL. On the back page you will find editorials exhorting good party members to build the TUUL, to smash the reformist trade unions. In the "Party Life" column you will find an article by one or another D.O. urging the carrying out of the open letter and more mobilization for the TUUL fractions. This is not merely a "slight distortion of the line," Comrade Stachel.

But look again at a "Daily Worker"—a current one this time. The TUUL has dropped to seven lines at the bottom of page four. On the front page, on the editorial page, on all the other pages are stories and articles on "rank-and-file" committees, on A. F. of L. opposition work. What is the background of this?

We need not seek far for the answer. First must be cited the decay and death of the TUUL. Next are the objective events of the past few months—the inspiring struggles of labor in Minneapolis, in Toledo, in Chicago, in San Francisco, in New York, in the South. Comrade Stachel attributes the rising spirit of the worker in the A. F. of L. to the influence of the revolutionary workers in the TUUL. But even he must realize how tremendously greater that influence would have been with those revolutionary workers, bringing pressure not from the outside but from the inside. The party has realized this momentarily at least.

Turn and Return

Shall we call this a New Turn? Shall we say that the CP has abandoned ultra-leftism and is again seeking a mass base? Our answer must be, "Not yet."

A Communist Party cannot function above the ideological level of its members. And a Communist Party which shrouds its past course in a fabric of falsehood, which conceals its future in a maze of confusion is a Party headed for disaster.

A new wave of expulsions from the A. F. of L. may soon be under way. Inevitably with the CP membership in its present confused state, with the leadership only adding to the confusion, with all the roots of left-sickness left untouched, expulsions will mean a revival of sectarianism. The cry will be raised "We have tried the A. F. of L. and the A. F. of L. didn't want us. Back to the red unions." The new turn and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the CPUSA faces the membership frankly saying, "Comrades, our dual union policy has been wrong. It is our task to return to a Leninist line."

This is not an easy thing for the leaders to say. It is not an easy thing to re-educate the membership to acceptance of it. But it is something that must be done if the party is to advance to its revolutionary goal.

DOLL WORKERS FORGE AHEAD

by S. H.

Prior to February 1932, workers in the Doll & Toy industry were slaving under the most brutal conditions in the history of the industry—unlimited hours, wages per week generally far below ten dollars, and the bosses grinding the workers into a state of virtual bondage. In the month of February, a turn in the tide of unbridled exploitation was evidenced. A group of doll workers began to organize a union, the Doll & Toy Workers Industrial Union. Several months later, in August, sufficient support was gained by the Union amongst the workers to call a general strike in the trade. The strike lasted four weeks and resulted in the organization of about 60% of the workers in the trade. Members of the official Communist Party and others in the Union fought against the affiliation of the Union to the A. F. of L. The Union, therefore, remained independent. Finally the realization upon the part of the workers that they had much to gain by affiliation forced a decision for affiliation to be passed.

It was over this issue of affiliation that the members of the Communist Party, rebuffed in their attempt to segregate these workers from the main stream of the American labor movement, split the union.

Two Unions In The Industry

Disaster followed in the wake of this destruction of workers' unity. Working conditions reverted to the worst days of the pre-

union period. The workers who had decided to affiliate with the A. F. of L. became the Doll & Toy Workers Union Local 18230, the others set up an organization which was unofficially controlled by the Trade Union Unity League. Both unions fought and begged for recognition from the bosses, while the workers conditions were bargained away in the process—working day increased by six hours, wages slashed about one-third. Workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total membership of both was about 150 members. Control over organized this opportunity to forcibly contracts upon workers. This was the result of the policy pursued by the people who mouthed the loudest kind of "unity," the trade unionists of the T.U.U.L. brand.

A Step Forward

In this pitch black scene of chaos, a group of more progressive workers determined to rebuild the union and to work for the introduction of progressive unionism into their union (A. F. of L.). They worked hard amongst the workers in the union and in the trade in creating the desire for one union in the trade and its being the A. F. of L. union. Recovering from their disgust, the doll workers rallied to the slogans initiated by the progressives and forced a merger of the two unions in

International Notes

French Ultra Lefts Go Far To Right

The crisis in which the French bourgeoisie finds itself out of which is developing a growing fascist danger, has called forth an astounding program of action from that group so proud of calling itself "Bolshevik-Leninist". The French Trotskyites propose that the united front of the Communist and Socialist Parties call a general strike to overthrow the Doumergue government. With typical Trotskyist fondness for historical analogy instead of historical materialist analysis, they propose that the aim of the general strike should be a return to the "spirit of the Great Revolution, of the Convention". We are not yet ready to substitute for the Doumergue government, workers and peasants soviets, so we must therefore have

"A single assembly must concentrate the legislative and executive power. The members should be elected to it for two years thru universal suffrage . . . subject to recall . . . and based on local assemblies. . . ."

"Such is the only measure that can lead the workers forward instead of setting them back. A larger measure of democracy is necessary to facilitate the struggle for workers power." (La Verite, Aug 3, 1934.)

This proposal for giving the workers "a larger measure of democracy" within the framework of the capitalist state originated with Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party. Stale and shopworn with social democratic handling it is picked up by the lefts of the lefts, the followers of Trotsky.

Indian C.P.-O. In Strike Struggles

Bombay, India.

The Indian National Congress has again become a functioning, live organization. The government has lifted the ban and is allowing the Congress to function legally. No doubt because the Congress leaders have assured the government that they have now abandoned, at least for the time being the direct action, and have also assured that they will be able to take with them the entire Congress in this new venture of constitutionalism. The revolt within the con-

gress, however is growing. It is expressed by the formation of the Congress Socialist Parties in a number of provinces.

In October the open session of the Congress meets in Bombay. At that time an All India Party will be formed. In the open session Gandhi and the right wing leaders will no doubt carry the day. But they are sure to meet with very strong opposition.

The most important event, during the last two months and a half was the Bombay Textile workers general strike. Our group played an important part thruout the strike and has come out of the strike with increased strength.

The strike was organized according to the resolution of the All India Textile Workers' Conference held in Bombay at the end of January. The strike began on the 23rd of April and within one or two days it became general in scope. The strike continued for about two months but in the end disintegrated without any of the demands being won.

Thruout the strike the police repressions were very great. The working class section was an armed camp. Every mill and every street junction was guarded by strong police detachments. Meetings and demonstrations were prohibited except in specific areas and by specific routes. On May 23rd all meetings and demonstrations were banned and this ban is still in force. Arrests and persecutions took place by the hundreds. Besides, two round-ups of important strike leaders took place. Of these 28 were kept in confinement for two months without trial.

Blacklegs were escorted to and from work by police. This led to a number of clashes with the police. In some places police even went to the extent of entering workers chawls and threatening and assaulting those who would not go to work.

The strike failed mainly because of police repression. Prohibition of meetings, arrests of leaders and indiscriminate beatings, in the end facilitated the work of the strike breakers. Additional causes may be said to be the lack of any relief measures, huge unemployment, the treachery of such strike leaders as Alwe, Kandalaker and Kasale and the quarrels which broke out, towards the end of the strike, in the strike committee itself.

Our comrades were very active during the strike and in the two round-ups of strike leaders 9 of our comrades were arrested.

The official party played a double role thruout the strike. A united front was established with them for the strike. They joined not with the desire of developing the movement or of bringing the strike to a successful conclusion, but with the only purpose of securing a few recruits to their party and of discrediting their opponents—including ourselves.

They were keen on making fiery speeches and courting jail. Unfortunately for the strike they were able to manoeuvre themselves into a rather advantageous position in the Strike Committee. This led to a number of disastrous mistakes which helped liquidate the strike. Immediately after the strike they opened the floodgates of abuse and vituperation against all others. They are again at their old game of splitting the workers and raising a new mushroom crop of Red Trade Unions.

HAYES-KELSEY RESOLUTION

(Continued from Page 1)

as being opposed to the action of William Green in denouncing the workers on strike, and consider such action as disloyal to and in violation of the ethics and traditions of the trade union movement.

In order to offset the apparent sentiment of the workers for struggle and against the betrayal policies of the officialdom of the A. F. of L., William Collins, Detroit Organizer for the A. F. of L., called a conference of his organizers and adopted a resolution of confidence in Green and Collins.

(Continued on Page 7)

BOOKS

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by George Soule. The MacMillan Company. \$2.50.

RUSSIA, YOUTH AND THE PRESENT DAY WORLD, by Frankwood E. Williams, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. \$2.50.

Both these books offer interesting similarities and contrasts. Through different mediums and approaches, the two authors have given incisive and sweeping indictments of the capitalist way of life. Mr. Soule through a mustering of economic facts and observations blasts any pretensions as to the stability or desirability of a capitalist economy—whether it be the “rugged individualism” of a Hoover or the “enlightened,” “regulated” capitalism of Roosevelt. Mr. Williams, a physician and psychiatrist, exposes the crushing nature of “individualism” upon individuality and personality, the hypocrisy and sham of conventional morals—an indictment sweeping and effective in its attack upon capitalist ideology in sexual relations and the general field of mental hygiene. Mr. Williams has seen Soviet Russia and, now, longs for a Soviet America.

And, yet, throughout both books, there keeps recurring the basic problem for persons convinced of the complete inadequacy of capitalism economically, intellectually, and morally as to how the transition from one society to another can occur. Both authors are convinced of the necessity of Socialism—neither for the same reason nor as to the requisite methods.

Soule, through the usual empiricism peculiar to the modern followers of Veblenian economics (yet in contradiction to the Veblenian theoretical conclusions and deductions) has built up, in his chapters on economics, evidence in connection with debts, purchasing power, productive technique, unemployment, etc., that bears out with remarkable exactness the whole critique of capitalist economy written by Marx in the last century. Yet Soule is still groping—sincerely, intelligently—for the way out. His whole approach to this question is vitiated by his false conception of class-relationships and forces in society. Soule keeps referring to “classes,” to groups who are contending for power. This concept similar to Tugwell's idea of groups—farmers, workers, consumers, etc. and then divided and redivided into other units, which overlooks or ignores the objective base of capitalism that makes for the constant polarization of society into two conflicting classes (capitalists versus workers) leads to the most fantastic conceptions concerning the N.R.A. and its relation to the revolution. Soule states: “In a broad sense, then, the New Deal gives us a foretaste of the rise to power of a new class, (the white-collar worker) and this foretaste does have a distinct revolutionary tinge, just because it indicates a shift in class power. . . . Washington offices are now full of people who talk a language which would have been understood by few members of previous administrations. These persons do sense that great changes in our ways of conducting affairs are overdue, and they are at home in problems of economics, statistics and jurisprudence as former governmental staffs have not been.” Thus, the brain trust is the harbinger of the American social revolution.

Without drawing upon the Soviet planning experiences (exactly one sentence in the book refers to the Soviet Union and economic planning), without ever once stating bluntly, without equivocation, the impossibility of planning under capitalism, although intimating and proving it empirically, Soule goes on to completely misrepresent Communism (due partly to the Communist Party's insane tactical line and to the author's lack of information and knowledge concerning the whole Leninist approach) and its attitude towards Revolution and the organization of

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

17. What are the effects of these partial regulations of production by Monopoly Capital?

The effect of the partial regulation of production by monopoly capital is that a number of economic phenomena, formerly characteristic of periods of acute economic crises, now accompany all phases of the business cycle, i.e. they become chronic. In times of decreasing demand, declining prosperity, monopoly capital limits production, factories are closed and mass unemployment is created. However, at the same time the falling price is checked. Even in times of economic rise, monopoly capital sometimes has recourse to limitations of production with the purpose of boosting prices, by means of an artificial limitation of the supply. Capitalist monopolies, therefore, retard and tie-up those forces which, in free capitalist competition, bring about the self-regulation of capitalist economy, the temporary solutions of crises, i.e. serve to create the basis for new periods of prosperity.

18. How, then, do capitalist monopolies effect the general economic crises?

Capitalist monopolies may be able to retard temporarily the beginning of general economic crises, but this they may achieve only through such means as will momentarily detour certain phenomena of crises only to turn them later into permanent phenomena. When, therefore, finally, general economic crises do occur, they become all the deeper and more general. They change into deep social crises and catastrophes. They increase the tendency of the capitalists to seek a violent solution—be it the violent suppression of the working masses in revolt, be it the strengthening of the bourgeois state power in general (fascism), or be it the forced opening of new markets, sources of raw materials, markets for investments of capital, i.e. imperialist wars.

19. In what essentials does post-war imperialism differ from the imperialism before 1914?

In pre-war times, (beginning with approximately 1890-1914), the general inherent tendencies of imperialism toward decay and stagnation, toward the decline of capitalism, were concealed and outweighed on the surface by the rapid increase of productive forces (storm and drive period of imperialism). However, this rapid increase of productive forces only led to a tremendous intensification of the inherent contradictions of world capitalism. The catastrophe of the last world war was the concrete expression of this development. The world-war of 1914-1918 exposed and brought to a further head the tendencies of the decline of imperialist capitalism.

20. What are the most important manifestations of the decline of imperialism after the world war?

a) The contradiction of capitalist economy between the capacities of production and the possibilities of consumption, of marketability, which the world war was supposed to solve, was not solved but was actually sharpened by it. Productive forces of world capital have grown greatly, absolutely. On the other hand, not only did the world market fail to expand at the same rate, (in comparison with the growth of productive forces), but it relatively contracted. Above all, because of capitalist development in colonial and semi-colonial countries and because of the falling out of the Soviet Union from the capitalist economic system. The consequences of this disproportion between the possibilities of production and markets are a constant and widespread standstill of the productive machinery, a deadening paralysis of actual and potential productive forces. Even in times of prosperity there are

today millions of unemployed and the capacity for production of industry is not completely utilized.

b) The parasitic features of capitalism have grown. The most important are:

1. War tributes.

2. Artificial, hot-house, development of new layers of coupon-clippers, rentiers; for example, subsidies to compensate the owners of idle factories.

3. Higher bank and financial usury (increasing interest rates).

c) The agricultural crises have become particularly extensive and chronic in post-war capitalism. The development of agricultural economy today collides violently with the limitations and barriers of capitalist private property.

d) The contradictions of capitalism are intensified by the further advance of the monopolistic composition of big capital. Monopoly capital controls the industries of the most important capitalist countries. Thus, the highest expression of monopoly, the trusts, has advanced absolutely as well as relatively. The extent of national and international capitalist monopolies has expanded enormously, in the size of consolidated capital, in its territorial sphere of activity, and in the number of industrial branches controlled by monopolies.

21. What are the main stages in the development of capitalism after the world war?

a) The immediate post-war crisis was accompanied by the first open outbreak of the world revolution. This post-war crisis manifested itself in the absolute decrease of production, in the decline of world trade, the disintegration of the international credit system, and the collapse of the currency system in a number of countries. The first open outbreak of the world revolution led to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union. In Central Europe, the incipient proletarian revolutions were defeated with the aid of the social democracy. The victorious bourgeois counter-revolutions, however, have more or less completed the hitherto unsolved tasks of the bourgeois revolution, (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland). The first open outbreak of the world revolution was terminated by the overcoming of the post-war crisis and the re-establishment of the political rule of the bourgeoisie in all countries outside of the Soviet Union.

The end of the first stage of the world revolution in Europe was the overcoming of the inflation in Germany in 1923-1924; in Asia the defeat of the revolutionary workers and peasants by the Chinese bourgeoisie.

b) The so-called stabilization of capitalism is based on the overcoming of the post-war crisis and the re-establishment of the shattered political rule of the bourgeoisie.

The so-called stabilization of capitalism is, therefore, not merely an economic phenomenon. It includes the political as well as the economic relative stabilization of capitalism. The relative stabilization is merely a stage in the general decline of capitalism. The recognition of the general period of decline of capitalism, however, does not mean that capitalism in all countries is in the same stage of decline. On the contrary, the decline of capitalism takes place just as irregularly in the individual countries as did the rise of capitalism. For example, the collapse of capitalism in Europe resulted in its rise in North America. Mankind is faced by this question: Either progress thru the world revolution toward Socialism or reversion towards barbarism thru the destruction of all human achievements to-date.

the masses, Soule says “It attacks and alienates most of the leaders and organizations to which oppressed naturally gravitate. . . .” His idea of revolution has not yet developed out of the stage of recognizing—oh! so painfully and hesitatingly!—its necessity; and still unclear, uninformed and prejudiced towards the class and the organization or that class that can be the dynamic factor in the revolution—the working class!

On the other hand, the psychiatrist, who in spite of his fanciful theories concerning people and revolution, and the relation of ideology to economics, has been completely “sold” on Russia. Without any pre-conceived ideas, Mr. Williams went to Russia—casual, he says, after a trip to Germany—and became overwhelmed by impressed by the new life, the new philosophy, the whole complete re-integration of individuality and the group. In a word, Williams has seen through the whole morass of lies and prejudices about the Soviet Union and has become wholly absorbed in its challenge to

capitalistic countries. For Williams, the way out is clear, the solution is “obvious,” “simple,” “common sense,” and it's the Soviet way. The book deals with so many aspects of the way in which the Soviet Union has solved human “problems” that it becomes impossible to attempt to treat them all. But one can receive a fair idea of his whole approach when one reads: “So it was that I came to see that the difference between mental hygiene in America and mental hygiene in Russia is the difference between life, or the philosophy of life, in America, and life, or the philosophy of life, in Russia.” He then goes on to show how this new unified philosophy—“No exploitation”—has begun to do away with most of the evils—economic, moral, intellectual—that capitalism has generated. His recognition of what Russia means to the world is best exemplified when he says “The tragedy in Germany is not the loss of impartial justice or of equal liberty for all, which never did exist, but that the violent increase of injustice and il-

liberality can serve no useful purpose, but intrenches more firmly the same social order, on the same false foundation. The loss of those things which are called ‘impartial justice’ and ‘equal liberty for all,’ but which in reality are no such things, to the end of ripping up these foundations and rebuilding them, in such way as to give prospect of bringing actual impartial justice and real equal liberty for all would be no loss and no tragedy, but a social gain.”

In conclusion, we should say that both authors ought to get acquainted. Soule could straighten out Williams in redirecting the latter's approach to an interpretation which would emphasize the basic and dynamic force of economic factors in the social and ideological spheres of life; while Williams could show Soule the way out of capitalist morass and have through his stimulating and provocative ideas that were motivated by the Soviet system, based on the proletarian dictatorship.

ECONOMIST

SINS OF THE FATHERS, by William Rado. Empire Publishing Co., New York.

William Rado has dedicated this history of Jewish persecutions to “those young boys and girls who are growing into humility for being innocently and hopelessly Jewish.” Yet the conclusions he ultimately draws at the end of his harrowing panorama of pogroms offer to these innocent hopeless youth nothing more than an illusory solution.

Down through the centuries Rado traces two forces making for Jewish isolation and persecution—one the professional Jew, the Rabbinical parasite sucking the blood of the Ghettoes, the other the professional Jew baiter, the priest or politician who sidetracked the rising masses with the cry “Go kill the Jew!” It is a good historical picture, even if a little overwritten with an uncalled for elaboration of language. But when he looks to the future the author reveals a softness unsuspected from his vicious indictments of Rabbinism. He rejects the attempt at the re-enclosedness of a non-existent race implicit in the Zionist movement. But he also rejects the solution offered by Biro-Bijan, the solution of the classless society where the Jew is a worker no different from other workers. Instead Rado offers a mushy semi-mystical utopianism, based on Spinoza's concept of right reason.

As a fairly authentic history of Jewry, as a typical example of the “liberal viewpoint” this book may be read. But as the answer to the problem of sixteen million Jews it is little more than an elaborate fraud.

The Trotskyites On Company Union

Pausing only to warn against the reactionary Greer, the Militant (Aug. 11, 1934) hails the boss inspired secession of the Hudson and Pontiac workers, from the A. F. of L., as a leftward move. Blinding itself to the company union character of this move, it greets the split as a revolt of the workers against Bill Greer.

With the bitter taste of the Progressive Miners Union still in their mouths, the Trotskyites nevertheless cling to dual unionism.

Perhaps, when the reactionary character of this disruption of an auto workers union becomes apparent even to them, they will dismiss it as a “premature” split.

DOLL WORKERS FORGE AHEAD

(Continued from Page 6)

union funds for which no account was ever turned into the union, and gave the bosses plenty of leeway in the shops. Once again the more progressive unionists took matters into their own hands and in the elections the clique was defeated. A new administration was elected, pledged to an honest union-building program.

Tasks For Progressives

The progressives unfortunately are not yet all of one mind. In fact a conscious progressive group is still a thing of the future rather than an accomplished fact. The great problem of involving the workers in a greater interest and loyalty for the union is another job for the progressives. Educating the membership while at the same time strengthening the union by enforcing conditions in the shop, only the accomplishment of these objectives can transform the Doll & Toy Workers Union into a progressive force in the American Labor movement.

JOIN THE CPO—

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General Strike in Textiles

DESPITE the combined efforts of the conservative union officials and the boss-controlled government agencies to prevent a strike, which may well develop into a mighty onslaught of a million textile workers against the textile barons, the rising tide of discontent among the workers is driving relentlessly toward strike action.

In June it was possible for MacMahon and Gorman to prevent action of the cotton workers by accepting an NRA arbitration board to determine, by investigation, whether or not the cut of 25% should be rescinded. The bitter fruit of reliance upon NRA, rather than the organized power of the workers, was harvested in the form of an "impartial" decision confirming the wage cut and defending the upward revision of the present 40 hour code provision.

While the bureaucracy of the U.T.W. preached class peace and throttled strike action, the employers proceeded to exterminate unionism in the south. Despite the boasted right of the workers to unions "of their choice" 1500 members of the U.T.W. were fired out of Alabama mills for union membership. The NRA turned a deaf ear to this action and the Alabama cotton workers struck 20,000 strong. Alone and single handed conducting a battle against the bosses without the slightest effort on the part of the U.T.W. leaders to check this union smashing drive by calling for general strike.

It is difficult to find an industry in which NRA has so arrogantly exposed itself as an instrument of the bosses, yet MacMahon and Gorman still place their sole hope upon it or the President. Even after the convention of the U.T.W. ran roughshod over the bureaucracy and ordered the general strike by the beginning of September, MacMahon still declared: "President Roosevelt is the only man on God's green earth who can prevent this strike." And echoing him Gorman said: "If President Roosevelt, these things would not take place." They are actually praying for such strike-breaking Presidential intervention as occurred in the Automobile and Steel industries. They are being forced to go into battle, by the great masses of textile workers, but they are doing so on bended knees.

The bosses announce thru Mr. Sloan, who is both President of the Cotton Textile Institute and Chairman of the Cotton Code Authority, that they cannot submit to a change in the Cotton Code, "now the law of the land," by threat of "force." When the textile barons so desired, the Code Authority immediately cut down the measly \$12 minimum by 25%! Now that the workers make demands the code becomes an unalterable law!

Against such a ruthless enemy there must be hurled the full power of the united ranks, not only of the cotton workers but also the silk, rayon and woolen workers. All suffer the same intolerable condition and all have common demands—30 hour week, higher minimum wage and reduction of machine load. The very interlocking nature of the textile industry demands the joint action of all sections of the workers, if the strike is to succeed.

The militants and progressives have a particular task and responsibility. It was primarily due to their efforts at the U.T.W. convention that a strike decision was forced upon the leadership. It now becomes their duty to guard against compromise and betrayal.

The battle, of which the lines are now forming, will have far reaching results. Never since the inception of NRA has so large an army of labor been mobilized for struggle—almost a million—against the open shop. If the textile workers are successful they will have struck a blow not only for themselves but for the whole labor movement, for they will have defeated the broadest open shop drive yet faced by American labor, in any industry.

Every trade union, every workers organization, every friend of labor must rally to the support of the textile workers.

Anarchism and Reaction

That Anarchism, in its essential philosophy and outlook, is a thoroughly petty bourgeois doctrine, that it is, in fact, "rugged individualism run mad," has long been a familiar idea to all Marxists. It is rare, however, to find Anarchists themselves openly parading their fundamental agreement with the most reactionary trends in bourgeois political thought. For this reason the editorial comment of the Jewish Anarchist weekly, Freie Arbeiter Stimme, on the recent deliverances of Professor Robert A. Millikan, is especially significant.

Professor Millikan, an outstanding physicist, is notorious for his thoroughly reactionary outlook in philosophy and religion, in economics and politics. He has, in fact, been held up as a sort of "horrible example" of how a first-rate scientist can be most completely unscientific, most thoroughly benighted, on every question outside his specialty. A few weeks ago this Professor Millikan, acting quite in character, decided to come to the assistance of the Old Guard Republicans against the Roosevelt "New Deal." He therefore delivered a perfectly Rotarian homily on the virtues of individual initiative and the wickedness of governmental "interference" or "control"—

"statism," as he elegantly called it. All of the die-hard Republican papers dutifully applauded the worthy scientist's little sermon; all of the liberal or pro-Administration papers just as promptly condemned it as painfully reactionary and absurdly out-of-date. Now comes the Freie Arbeiter Stimme (August 17, 1934) and welcomes Professor Millikan's Hooverian bromides with open arms—as a confirmation of Anarchism!

"One of the greatest scholars, not only of America but also of the whole world, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, president of the California Institute of Technology, recently delivered a remarkable address which surely deserves to be reprinted in the F.A.S. even though we cannot agree with Professor Millikan in everything he says. Since this (to reprint the address) is impossible at the present moment, we will give a small extract from this speech which will not only give the reader an idea of the character of the whole speech but will also show, by the way, that the idea of statelessness can find a place in one of the greatest minds of the day." Comment is surely unnecessary!

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

TUUL Splits Knitgoods Strike — C.P. Fiasco at U.T.W. Convention — Lost—A National Shoe Conference. Finder Return To Biedenbapp — Stachel Loses His Footing — We Join The Gold-Chanin Debate

THE general strike of Knitgoods workers having been settled, the CP press is shouting sell-out, as usual. This revolutionary indignation is particularly reprehensible when we recall that it was the CP controlled Needle Trades Workers Industrial union, which first opened up the strike front. Whatever few shops the Knitgoods section of that union controlled were sent back to work after the first couple of days, on an agreement which stipulated that conditions in these shops shall be subject to the general provisions of the general settlement in the industry.

If this were done by a conservative union in an industry in which the TUUL controlled the majority of the strikers, the cry of outright scabbery would resound throughout the country, but since it is done by a very revolutionary TUUL union it immediately becomes the highest type of revolutionary strike strategy. Fortunately the only effect that this scabbery had upon the strike was to still further discredit the already badly tainted Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. From the standpoint of the number of workers involved the TUUL was too weak to affect the issue one way or another.

THE recently closed U.T.W. convention was of tremendous significance for the trade union movement at large (see estimate of convention elsewhere in this issue). What concerns us at the moment is the sorry role played by the Communist Party.

We look thru the files of the Daily Worker and are very much pleased, for despite the deliberate distortions of the dull Karl Reeve, it still is apparent that whatever militant struggle was made at that convention was due to the very Lovestonites, who, as the Daily Worker will tell you, are part of the MacMahon machine.

After reading all the slurs and slanders against the Lovestonite leaders in the convention, we are justified in asking—where were the C.P. delegates? Where was this powerful C.P. with its TUUL and its rank and file committees? There were 2 or 3 members of the TUUL in the convention. What a miserable, gutless, spineless crew they were. In all they brought in 2 or 3 resolutions but did not even have the courage to defend them. So weak kneed were they that they did not even rise to vote against

MacMahon. It is a sad commentary on the trade union work of the C.P. when Karl Reeve can write "with one truly militant (read C.P.) floor leader the complexion of the convention might have been changed."

As long as the C.P. continues to play with rag dolls, labelled TUUL unions, just so long will it continue to be as insignificant as it is, in the conservative unions.

WE have been so busy handling other trade union matters that an event of considerable import, has been allowed to go by uncommemorated. We refer to the national conference called by the New York District of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. This was to have been a coup d'etat in which the national officials were to be overthrown and the New York crew was to take over the union. July 15 was set as the time for this coup.

The plan was very simple. The New York organization (TUUL supporters) was to adopt a resolution which was immediately to be submitted to all the locals for approval. The resolution called for the election of delegates to the conference to be held in Boston.

However things went all wrong. The highly colored reports from New England failed to materialize and when July 15 rolled around New York could lay claim to only 4 local endorsements out of a possible 40, and the conference was just forgotten in the shuffle.

If the General Executive Board had been formal it could very easily have ruled out the whole matter. The local organization here, in its haste, failed even to submit a copy of its resolution to the G.E.B. for the purpose of having it sent to the locals. Instead it sent the resolution direct to the locals. Another little matter which the GEB did not pick up is the fact that local New York was not then and is not now in good standing.

The CP members claim the endorsements of Local 23 (New York), Local 18 (Chelsea), Local 9 (Haverhill) and the Mixed Local of Lynn, Local 23 of New York never did endorse this resolution. It was endorsed by one of the numerous top committees of the local. In Chelsea the CP members talked into the wee hours of the morning and finally when most of the workers had left, carried their resolution. This action Local No. 18 reconsidered at its very next

meeting and has not changed its position at this writing. Local 9 of Haverhill never took up this communication at all and could not act either for or against. And as for the Mixed Local of Lynn, well here just ain't any mixed local in Lynn, and therefore there could be no endorsement.

It is rumored that the July 15 conference was to have resulted in the organization of a new union controlled by the CP. The discouraging results of their referendum may have a sobering effect upon the TUUL crowd, at least temporarily.

THE CP has suddenly become extremely "Left Communist" conscious. Jack Stachel was rushed forward recently to "interpret" Lenin and incidentally to make up for the failure to print an introduction to the same pamphlet published by the CP. We are not now concerned with the painful antics of Stachel in his attempt to torture Lenin into the devious twists and turns of the present trade union line of the CP. What does concern us deeply is that Stachel seems to be slipping. With not one word did he so much as tip his hat to the Independent Federation of Labor. Has he forgotten so soon the Theses and Resolutions of the Eighth C.P. convention, in which it is distinctly ordered that the building of the Independent Federation of Labor is the main task of the party. Coming as it does from the nominal head of the TUUL, such lapses of memory are absolutely inexcusable. What a nice pickle Jack would be in if someone should happen to mention it to Browder or Lozowsky.

Ben Gold and H. Chanin have been polemizing the question of whether the Joint Council or the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union are using gangsters in the struggle between the two unions. We would hesitate to enter into this controversy were it not for the fact that Ben Gold has drawn upon the Lovestonites to prove a number of his contentions. If we are to be a witness we first of all insist on being quoted correctly and secondly we reserve our right to speak on other questions.

Says Gold: "We would like to refer Chanin to a circular issued by the Lovestonite leaders in the Joint Council. The circular openly admits that the 'so-called organization committees' hold sway by corruption and gangsterism." Quite right, and as union members we have fought against this condition in the Joint Council, but we are fighting with equal vigor against the thuggery and gangsterism, against a veritable reign of terror let loose upon the fur market on Ben Gold's orders. The gangster attack upon the NTWU offices some two years ago has been more than matched by the persistent slugging and crippling of workers over a period of months.

Gangsterism is just that regardless of whether Ureman or Gold does the paying.

Says Gold again: "Actually there were 48 furriers that took part in those elections. The Lovestonites who claimed that they were cheated by the other officials, say that 100 votes were cast. . . ." This statement is a deliberate lie on the part of Gold. Where, in what statement did the Lovestonites say that 100 votes were cast? The progressives, or the Lovestonites, as Gold prefers to call them, secured 200 votes, some candidates running even higher. This 200 odd votes constituted some 30% of the total vote, so how could there have been 48 votes cast as Gold insists or 100 votes as Gold would have us say? The answer is that it is a simple fabrication for enlivened fur workers.

Whatever irregularities there may have been, there were many hundreds of workers participating in the elections, yes many more hundreds than participated in the election of delegates to the national conference of the NTWU, held during the I.L.G.W.U. convention. When it comes to question of union democracy we would seriously advise Gold to "skip it" because there are no worse bureaucratically ridden and mechanically controlled unions than the industrial unions of the TUUL.

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